1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
/82

CHAPTER IX

THE TODA GODS

788 THE ceremonies which have been described in the last five chapters make up a large part of the ritual of the Toda religion, but there is one important feature of this ritual which has so far been left on one side, or only cursorily mentioned, because its full consideration only becomes possible after an account has been given of the Toda gods.

In describing the ritual of the dairy and the various ceremonies connected with the buffaloes, it has been mentioned that at certain times the prayer of the dairy or the prayer of the village is used. In these prayers there are references to various incidents in the lives of the gods, and many of the clauses would be unintelligible without a knowledge of these lives. It therefore becomes necessary to consider this branch of Toda mythology before dealing with the prayers in detail.

776 The typical Toda god is a being who is distinctly anthropomorphic and is called a *teu*. In the legends he lives much the same kind of life as the mortal Toda, having his dairies and his buffaloes. The sacred dairies and the sacred buffaloes of the Todas are still regarded as being in some measure the property of the gods, and the dairymen are looked upon as their priests. The gods hold councils and consult with one another just as do the Todas, and they are believed to be swayed by the same motives and to think in the same way as the Todas themselves.

000 At the present time most of the gods are believed to

773 776 At the present time most of the gods are believed to inhabit the summits of the hills, but they are not seen by mortals. Before the Todas were created, the gods lived on the Nilgiri Hills alone, and then it is believed that there followed a period during which gods and men inhabited the hills together. The gods ruled the men, ordained how they should live and originated the various customs of the people. The Todas can now give no definite account of their beliefs about the transition from this state of things to that which now exists.

[618] Each clan of the Todas has a deity especially connected with it. This deity is called the *nòdrodchi* of the clan, and is believed to have been the ruler of the clan when gods and men lived together. I am doubtful whether there is at the present time any belief that the *nòdrodchi* exerts an influence over the clan with which he is connected.

There was no department of Toda lore which gave me greater difficulty than the study of the beliefs about the gods. There was no doubt that two gods stood out pre-eminent among the rest. One was a male deity whose name was Ȯn, and the other a female deity, Teikirzi. A simple question which I had the greatest difficulty in settling was the relation of these deities to one another. According to one account they were brother and sister; according to another, father and daughter. It seemed quite certain they were not husband and wife, and most probable that they were brother and sister. Others of the gods were believed to be related to one another, but on such points as this I found it almost impossible to obtain trustworthy information. It may have been reticence which made the difficulty, but I do not think so, and am inclined to think that the Todas have now only vague ideas about the histories of their more ancient gods, and have nothing like the definite traditions which they possess about deities of obviously more recent origin.

Sometimes there were discrepancies between different accounts which I could not clear up, and in such cases I give the account which seems to me to be the most trustworthy.

PITHI

773 776 This god is the earliest of whom any tradition is preserved. His name is Pithi or Püthi, and he is often called Pithioteu. He was born near the sacred dairy of Anto in a cave which had the same shape as the ordinary Toda hut. According to one account, Pithi created Todas and buffaloes, but there seemed to be little doubt that this is not the correct tradition, which assigns the act of creation to his son Ön. There is a suggestive resemblance between the name of this god and the Sanscrit word for earth, Prithivi, which is in common use in Southern India.

ÖN

Ön was the son of Pithi. He created the buffaloes and the Todas and became the ruler of Amnòdr, the world of the dead, where he now lives.

One day Ön went with his wife Pinârkûrs to Mêdrpem (the top of the Kundahs). There he put up an iron bar which stretched from one end of the *pem* to the other. Ön stood at one end of the bar and brought forth buffaloes from the earth, 1,600 in number. Then Pinarkurs tried to produce buffaloes and she stood at the other end of the bar and produced 1,800 buffaloes.

Behind Ön's buffaloes there came out of the earth a man, holding the tail of the last buffalo, and this was the first Toda. Ön took one of the man's ribs (*parikatelv* or *magalelv*) from the right side of his body and made a woman, who was the first Toda woman. The Todas then increased in number very rapidly so that at the end of the first week there were about a hundred.[1]

The descendants of the buffaloes created by Ön became sacred buffaloes, while the descendants of those created by his wife are the ordinary buffaloes.

---

[1] This account of the creation of men and buffaloes was obtained from Arsolv (27) of Kanòdrs, one of the oldest living Todas. It agrees very closely with the story as related to Mr. Breeks.

Ȯn had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting 773 as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with 776 a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tls*, *tls*, *tls*," meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ȯn found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ȯn is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ȯn covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

When Ȯn saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ȯn blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. [609] Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

Then Ȯn went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

---

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a 825 white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

773 and the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* with him, and since that time
776 Ön has ruled over Amnòdr, which is sometimes called Önnòdr after him.

TEIKIRZI

This goddess is perhaps the most important of the Toda deities. She is said to have been the sister, and probably the elder sister, of Ön. I could learn very little about the story of her life, but nearly all the customs of the Todas were referred to her, and it seemed clear that when Ön left this world Teikirzi became the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of the Todas. Whenever I tried to obtain from the Todas an explanation of any ceremony or custom I nearly always received the reply, which was regarded as final, that it had been so ordained by Teikirzi.

It seems doubtful whether Teikirzi dwells in any special hill like other Toda deities, though there is a hill near Nòdrs especially connected with her. I was told that she lives everywhere in this world, and in answer to a question it was said even that her influence extends to London, where she dwells as she dwells everywhere else.

She is regarded as the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of all the Todas, and this world is often spoken of as Eikirzinòdr. At the same time Teikirzi is especially connected with Nòdrs, and she is the special *nòdrodchi* of this clan.

Five customs, or sets of customs, are ascribed especially to Teikirzi. These are:—

(i) *Madol pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *madol* (clans)." Teikirzi is also said to have divided the Todas into their two chief divisions.

(ii) *Ir pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave buffaloes."

Below Nòdrs, near a swamp called Keikudr, there is a small stream which at the present time Todas will not cross at a certain spot, and Teikirzi stood in this stream. According to one account she beat the water with a wand, saying "*Ir padri ma*" ("May buffaloes spring"), and buffaloes sprang out of the stream; but it seemed to be more generally accepted that she only divided the buffaloes on this spot by touching each animal on the back with a wand and saying

773
776

the name of the clan to which it was to belong. The first portion went to Nòdrs, the second to Kuudr, the third to Kars, and the fourth to Taradr. Up to this point she used a wand of *kid* wood (*kidkurs*). For the next clan, that of Keadr, the *kidkurs* was put away and she used a wand of *tavat* wood, and several other kinds of wand were used. Teikirzi was also said to have ordained at the same time that *wursulir* should be milked by Teivaliol and to have settled the general regulations concerning the different kinds of buffalo.

(iii) *Püliol pàkkt kwadrt vai,* "Who divided and gave *püliol*."

Teikirzi is said to have ordained that certain people should be the *püliol* of a man, and that *püliol* should not marry one another (see Chap. XXI).

(iv) *Ir pats id vai,* "Buffalo catch who said." Teikirzi ordained that buffaloes should be caught at the funeral ceremonies (see Chap. XV).

(v) *Kwarzam pep ostht ad vai,* "Who told the *kwarzam* and gave *pep*."

Teikirzi gave to each village its *kwarzam,* or sacred name, and settled the method of making new *pep*.

The name of Teikirzi occurs frequently in other legends. One story not mentioned elsewhere is the following:—

When Teikirzi was living at Nòdrs the people of Mysore came to fight her, but as they approached, the woods made a great noise. When the Mysore people heard the noise they stopped, and then Teikirzi cursed them and said, "Let them become stones," and they were turned into stones, which are still to be seen below Nòdrs.

TEIPAKH, OR TIRSHTI

I know very little about the life-history of this deity, but he is very widely mentioned in the prayers and incantations of the Todas, and is one of their most important gods. He was the brother of Teikirzi, and differs from most other Toda deities in being a river god, Teipakh being the Toda name of the Paikara river.

Teipakh is the *nòdrodchi* of the Piedr and Kusharf clans.

Although there was considerable agreement that Teipakh

773 776 and Tirshti were one and the same god, there was some doubt about it, and, according to one account, Tirshti was only another name for Teikirzi.

ANTO.

I am very doubtful about the name and identity of this god. There seemed to be little doubt that he had the same name as the chief dairy of the Nòdrs *ti* and was the chief deity connected with this dairy. According to one account he was the son of Ön, but it is possible that the two deities were identical, Anto being Önteu. His name was sometimes pronounced Anteu or perhaps more correctly Ånto or Änteu.

I have only a few incidents from the life of Anto. He once rolled a huge stone with the hair of his head from Nelkòdr in the Wainad to the top of a hill called Katthvai near the dairy of Anto. The god now lives near this dairy, resting his head on a spot called Ködrs, and stretching his legs on a spot called Tudrs. These places are about two furlongs apart so that Anto is evidently a god of a large size.

Anto is said to have made buffaloes, and the buffalo which founded the *ti mad* of Makars (see p. 116) was one of his creation. The fact that Anto created buffaloes increases the probability of his identity with Ön, but this is far from conclusive for there were undoubtedly several independent creations of these animals.

KULINKARS

This deity is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kars clan. His original name appears to have been Kulin, and this was changed to Kulinkars. He is also called Teikhars. He inhabits a hill near Makurti Peak, which is so steep and rocky that "no man has ever climbed it."

The following story is told of Kulinkars or Teikhars:—He once knocked on the ground and so made two buffaloes. He then told the monsoon (*kwadr*) to drive the buffaloes to the place to which they were to go, saying, "you must push them on." As the buffaloes were being driven on by the monsoon, a tiger went after them. When they reached a certain hill, 773 the hill divided into two and the buffaloes went between the 776 two parts, but still the tiger followed them. Then the buffaloes came to Kwaradr and went into the pen, and the tiger also went into the pen. When the buffaloes saw that the tiger had come into the pen, they kicked it and it died. Then one of the buffaloes said to the other, "You stay here in the pen; I am going to Tarsòdr." Then the monsoon drove on this buffalo to Tarsòdr, which is one of the dairies of the Pan *ti*. The descendants of the buffalo which stayed in the pen are the *pasthir* of Kwaradr and the descendants of the other are among the buffaloes of the Pan *ti*.

Kulinkars was connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) and was the *mokhthodvaiol* or paramour of Nòtirzi. His relation to Nòtirzi is said to have been the origin of the *mokhthoditi* custom (see Chap. XXII), but I was not able to obtain any detailed account of this part of the history of the god.

Kulinkars has a son called Teikhidap, who lives on Makurti Peak, and the proper Toda name for this hill is Teikhidap.

NÒTIRZI

I have no details of the history of this female deity. She is the *nòdrodchi* of the two important clans of Melgars and Kuudr, and lives on the hill now known as Snowdon, the [778] Toda name of the hill being the same as that of the goddess. This hill is especially sacred, and any Toda who visits it has to salute with hand to forehead (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. Like her *mokhthodvaiol*, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi is connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. She is said to have had a son called Tikuteithi or Teukuteithi. It is possible that this is the same as Teikuteidi, who appears in the story of Kwoten (see p. 193), but they are more probably two different deities.

A stone which is said to have been thrown by this goddess from her hill is shown close to the village of Pòln, under the tree known to English visitors to the Nilgiris as the 'umbrella tree.'

KORATEU OR KUZKARV

773 776 Korateu was the son of Teikirzi. One day when Teikirzi was going from one village to another she went into a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of a stream called Kathipa, near Kakhudri, and there gave birth to a son, who was called Azo-mazo. The afterbirth dropped into the stream and was carried down to Teipakh (the Paikara river). It travelled down the river as far as a place called Marsnavai, where there were growing two plants called *tib* and *purs* in which it became entangled. The afterbirth then slowly arose and became a boy, and the boy was Korateu. When Azo-mazo became a man he went to live at Pernòdr in the Kundahs, but Korateu lived in the river till he was eight years old. The river Teipakh was the brother of Teikirzi. As he sat in the lap of his uncle Korateu used often to play at making the buffalo horns called *tebkuter* (Fig. 35).[1] When he was eight years old he founded a *ti* and created a male and a female buffalo, making both out of earth. He also built a dairy and a buffalo pen and made the garment called *tuni*. As soon as the buffaloes had a calf, he went to fetch a churning-stick from Kaiers, beyond Makurti Peak, and took it to Nerva, near Mòdr, where his buffaloes were standing. He then went to Kurkòdr, a bamboo grove near Meipadi in the Wainad, and made a *kwoi* or milking vessel. He next made the *persin* and the

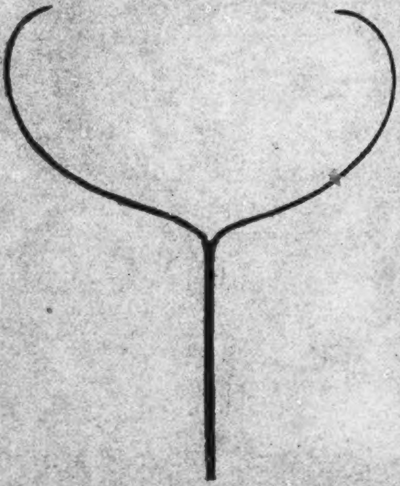

FIG. 35.—IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

[524]

---

[1] Usually called *petkuter*.

mani and all the other things of a *ti* and became *palol* of the buffaloes at Ȯdrtho. There was a buffalo here of the kind called *kughir*, with the horns growing downwards. Korateu cut off these horns and gave them to the *kaltmokh* at Ȯdrtho and they are now the horns of the Nȯdrs *ti*. Korateu then made a law that the people of Piedr should fill the office of *palol* and that the *kaltmokh* should be taken from the Melgarsol. He appointed a *palol* and a *kaltmokh* from these clans, handed over the charge of the *ti* to them, and went away to the hill Korateu, where he lived in an iron cave which he called a *poh*. He used to bathe in a pool near the hill.

At this time Korateu was not recognised as a *teu*, and when the gods held council he was not summoned as a member. This made him very angry.

Near Korateu there was a wood in which there stood a tree of the kind called *mȯrs* (*Michelia nilagirica*) which was about 80 feet high. Korateu ordered that honey bees (*peshtein*) should come to the tree, and after a time there were about 300 nests, which made the tree bend down with their weight. One day about twenty men came to collect honey, Todas, Irulas, and Kurumbas. The Todas made a fire under the tree, while the Irulas and Kurumbas climbed and collected honey from the nests. When they had collected the honey from all except three or four nests, the tree became so light that it sprang back and killed the Irulas and Kurumbas, and the Todas went home.

At this time Korateu was unmarried and he carried a stick of iron. One day a Kurumba woman came to the *mȯrs* tree in search of honey. Korateu knocked her on the head with the iron stick and at once she became pregnant. That evening she gave birth to a daughter, who was very beautiful, and Korateu decided to marry the child and sent away the mother that night. (According to another version, the child was so beautiful that the mother was frightened and went away to her own village, and Korateu fed the child with milk and fruit and honey, and when she grew up he married her.)

Soon after the death of the Irulas and Kurumbas a sambhar calf came to Korateu, who caught it, tamed it, and

773
776
kept it for a month. Then certain Todas went to Korateu and asked him for a place. Korateu gave them a place and said that it should be called Keradr. The people of Keradr then asked for buffaloes. So Korateu gave them the sambhar calf and said that it should become buffaloes for them, and he ordered that the buffaloes should be called *miniapir*, and that the calves should be called *mâvelkar*—*i.e.*, calf from a sambhar. This was the origin of Keradr and of its *wursulir*, which are still called *miniapir*, and they are the only buffaloes of the Todas which were made from sambhar.

After these things had happened the gods recognised that Korateu was a *teu*, and calling him asked him who he was. He answered that he was the son of Teikirzi, and the *manmokh* or sister's son of Teipakh. He was then admitted as one of the gods and now lives on the hill Korateu, but still sometimes sits in the lap of Teipakh. He is the *nòdrodchi* of the Keradr and Keadr clans, and the chief villages of these clans are near his hill. He is called Kuzkarv when mentioned in prayer.

Another god, called Etepi, is said to be the same god as Korateu. It appeared, however, that Korateu lived on one hill and Etepi on another, and I could not ascertain the true relation of the deities to one another.

Azo-mazo is mentioned in the prayer of the Kars *ti* as two deities, Azo and Mazo.

PUZI AND KURINDO

I am very doubtful as to the identity of Puzi. According to some accounts Puzi or Purzi was merely another name for Teikirzi; according to other accounts Puzi was a male deity and the husband of Teikirzi. In the following story Puzi is a female deity, inhabiting a hill near Nòdrs. She gave birth to a son called Kurindo. As soon as Kurindo was born he became fire. Puzi did not approve of this, as it seemed to show that the boy was too powerful, so she took a leaf of the kind called *kwagal*, pounded it and mixed it with water and sprinkled it on the fire. The fire then turned back again into a boy who was bent to one side.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

773
776

Puzi said, "I will put you on a hill opposite to me." So she put him on the hill called Mopuvthut, near the village of Naters, and in order to make the hill higher she put three baskets of earth on the top, so that her son might be seen by everybody.

When Kurindo was on his hill he thought to himself, "My mother has treated me badly; she sprinkled me with water and quenched my power, and she has made me bent to one side; I do not like to be opposite to her." So he went away to a hill near Kanòdrs. This was before the time of Kwoten and before the Kamasòdrolam had run away (see p. 195). While Kurindo was living on this hill a strange tribe came to the hills, so Kurindo again moved and went away to the hill of Arsnur on the Mysore side, where he still lives.

There is a hill called Puthi on which a fire is lighted at certain times (see p. 291) and the god inhabiting this hill was, according to one account, the husband of Teikirzi. It is possible that Puthi and Puzi are the same, but I think it more probable that they are two separate gods, each having his own hill, Puthi being the husband of Teikirzi, and Puzi being the deity of this legend.

173
773
776

The following legends differ from the preceding in that they appear almost certainly to record the lives of deified men. The first legend deals with three men of different clans, but the sons of three sisters. The second deals with the life of Kwoto, and professes to be the history of a being of miraculous birth who came to be accepted by the gods, not only as one of their number, but as superior to themselves. These two legends were known far more thoroughly and universally than any of the preceding. It seems most probable that they are records of men who really lived, and that the life of each has become a nucleus round which have grown various miraculous and portentous incidents.

KWOTEN, TEIKUTEIDI, AND ELNÂKHUM

There were once three men, the children of three sisters. The eldest was Kwoten, who belonged to Pan, the second was Teikuteidi, who belonged to Taradr, and the youngest

173 773 776 was Elnâkhum of Nòdrs. (According to one account the father of Kwoten was Purten, and his mother was Tiköni of Keradr. They lived at Pan and Kiursi, and Kwoten was born at Pan. Purten died when Kwoten was thirty years old and Tiköni died six years later.)

Kwoten had a wife called Kwoterpani. She did not like her husband, but preferred a man of Kanòdrs called Parden. One day Kwoten took his wife to a place called Timukhtar (near the spot where Sandy Nullah toll-bar now stands). He gave her only the loin-cloth called *tadrp* to wear, hoping that she would be cold and uncomfortable and would sleep with him, but she refused. Kwoten then took her to Kûdrìdjpül near Mulòrs, where there was a large wood. In this wood there was a tree of the kind called *külmän*, into which Kwoten climbed and made a bed. Below him, about three feet above the ground, he made a small bed for his wife, and under the tree, close to his wife's bed, he tied a big male buffalo. He did this because he thought a tiger might come to take the buffalo during the night when his wife would be frightened and would climb up the tree to his bed. During the night a tiger came and took away the buffalo, but even this did not induce the woman to go to her husband. Next morning Kwoten took his wife to Pòlâdri, which belonged to the Panol. This village was near Miuni, and there Kwoten became a *palikartmokh*. One day Kwoten was in the dairy and his wife in the hut when Parden came from Kanòdrs. Kwoten's wife knew that her husband was in the dairy, and endeavoured to prevent Parden from going into the hut by giving him buttermilk. Kwoten found that Parden had come, and sharpened a big knife to kill him, and when he came out of the dairy, Parden ran away towards Kanòdrs and Kwoten followed with the knife.

Kwoten's sister had married a Kars man and was living with him at Nasmiòdr, and at this time Kwoten's mother was staying at this place. As Parden ran away, pursued by Kwoten, they had to pass Nasmiòdr, and Kwoten's mother saw them, and said, "How is it that my son does not catch Parden?" Then she cursed Parden, saying "*On sati udairnùdr, Kârkadith mul udith pâtmâ*"—viz., "If I have reverence

173
773
776

to the village, may he be checked by the tree with thorns in the Kark wood." When Parden reached a stone now called Pardenkars, Kwoten caught him up and tried to kill him, but the knife struck the stone instead and split it into two pieces. Then Parden ran on to the wood called Kark, where he was caught by a tree with thorns (brambles) so that Kwoten was able to kill him.

When the news of the death of Parden reached Kanòdrs all the people were very much afraid, and all ran away except one old man and his wife. As the people were going, they sent a message to the Kotas at Tizgudr. Two Kotas took a grain pounder (*wask*) and went to Pòladri. When Kwoten was told that the Kotas were coming he went and hid himself. The Kotas came and stood near the village and were told that Kwoten had gone away. Then they told Kwoten's wife, who at this time was pregnant by Parden, to come out of the hut. She came out and went to the Kotas, who asked her where Kwoten was. She said she did not know, whereupon the Kotas were vexed, and pierced her belly with the pounder, so that she died. Her funeral took place at Tadendari, and that of Parden at Arâdr.

The people of Kanòdrs ran away to a place called Penasmalpet, near Malmathapenpet, and are known as the Kamasòdrolam. They have never been seen since, but the Todas have heard from various wandering tribes that they still exist and that they live on a hill from which they can see Kanòdrs, and that when the Kamasòdrolam see a fire at Kanòdrs they shave their heads and make a special kind of food called *ashkkarthpimi*.

When the Kanòdrs people ran away there remained behind one old man called Muturojen and his wife Muturach,[1] who were living in a village near Kanòdrs called Mitâhârzi. When the people left, the old man went to the Kanòdrs dairy to churn the milk left there by those who had run away, and he stayed there, sleeping in the *kwotars* or calves' hut, as the dairyman should do at Kanòdrs. His wife used to come every day as far as a place called

---

[1] These are quite unlike Toda names, nor is the name of the village, Mitâhârzi, like a Toda name.

173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on
776 her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people
[578] there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At
[292] that time women wore the garment called *än*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173
773
776

Keradrkutan used frequently to come to Kazhuradr, and this vexed Kwoten, who told his wife to have nothing to do with the man. She encouraged Keradrkutan, however, and this vexed Kwoten so much that he took off her *än* and brought a thorny bush called *peshteinmul* and beat her all over with the bush, so that she became covered with blood. Kwoten at this time wore the garment called *tuni*, which he then took off, dipped it in water, and rubbed it all over his wife so that she became the colour of *tuni*, and then he gave her back her *än* and went to his dairy. While he was in the dairy Keradrkutan came stealthily to the village. When the woman saw Keradrkutan she cried very bitterly and said, "Kwoten has beaten me very severely so that I shall die; come and see me." When Keradrkutan went into the hut, the woman died.

Before this time, when Kwoten was one day beating his wife, she abused him, saying, "*Talrs ti oditha vai, Kòlrs kûv oditha vai; en puspad*"—"You have no *ti*, you have no Kotas: why do you beat me?" This was to reproach Kwoten because the Pan people had no *ti* buffaloes and had no Kotas to make things for them. So Kwoten went and complained to his brother Teikuteidi. Teikuteidi was very sorry, and in order to remove the reproach he persuaded Elnâkhum of Nòdrs to give certain buffaloes of the kind called *unir* from the Nòdrs *ti*. Elnâkhum gave a two-year-old calf (*pòl*) and a one-year-old calf (*kar*), and also two bells (*mani*) to put on their necks. The two bells were called Tarskingg and Takhingg. The calves were then standing at Kuladrtho and were taken by Kwoten to the *tars poh* of Pan. He tied the two bells to one of the calves called Kazhi. These bells ought properly to have been tied to the buffalo called Enmars which remained behind at Kuladrtho. Then Enmars went to Anto and complained as follows:—

"*kï mödr, kï kevi, ninkûtth pòrâni*"[1]
"inferior neck, inferior ear, to your council I will not come"

i.e., "I will not come to your presence with naked neck and

---

[1] ? *Pòdrâni* or *pudrâni*.

173
773
776

ear." Anto told him not to grieve because he had lost the *mani*, and that instead

Melgarsòl	*teirpülk*	*muddå má*	*ní púd*
Melgars man	pül of Anto to	in front go may	you come

Antosh	*pep ûn*
at Anto	*pep* drink

i.e., "When you go to Anto, a Melgars man shall go in front of you to the *pül* of Anto; when you come to Anto you shall drink *pep*." To this day, when the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* go in procession to Anto a Melgars man goes in front and the buffalo called Enmars drinks *pep* at Anto. At the same time Anto prophesied to Enmars that a misfortune would befall Teikuteidi, saying

"*wûrådr*	*nols*	*Teikuteidi tan*	*ennåth*	*piriedkin*,	*et vokh!*"
"whole year	day	himself	without numbering	I will divide,	go away!"

When Teikuteidi heard of this prophecy he was much grieved, and was very careful to do all the following ceremonies:—*erkumptthiti*, *upatiti*, *punkudrtiti*, *tatmadthkudrtiti*, *petkudrtiti mukudrtiti*, *adikudrtiti*, *parivkudrtiti*, *tatòtiti*, *muòtiti*, *ponkastiti* and *irpalvusthi*—viz., sacrifice of calf, salt-giving, purification of *pun*, *tat* and *madth*, *pet*, *mu*, *adi* and *pariv*, etc.,[1] He performed all these ceremonies to escape the prophesied evil, for if he had succeeded in doing them all for the whole twelve months the prophecy would not have been fulfilled. On the very last day he forgot the prophecy and did not perform the ceremonies, but went to a place called Kirspem, where he sat under the shade of a *pülmän*. There is a flower which blossoms on this tree in the rainy season only, and then the bees come. When Teikuteidi was sitting under the tree it was not the rainy reason and he was very much surprised to hear the humming of honey bees in the tree. The noise was being made by a *kazun*[2] which had taken the form of a

---

[1] I do not know exactly to which ceremonies *tatòtiti* and *muòtiti* refer. The words mean "he takes the *tat*" and "he takes the *mu*," and evidently refer to some dairy ceremonial. *Ponkastiti* probably means that he kept *pon* throughout the year- *i.e.*, gave or sold nothing from his dairy during the year.

[2] A spirit which brings death (see p. 403).

173
773
776

bee. He looked up to see if there were any flowers to attract the bees and could not see them, neither could he see any bees. Then he thought for a little while and remembered Anto's prophecy, so he did not remain under the tree, but went away to Kirsgòrs to attend the funeral of a *wursol* of Nòdrs (see p. 439). When the funeral was over Teikuteidi set out with companions to go to Kerkars (a place near Paikara). On the way they passed Kwongudrpem (near Kuudi). There he stopped and began to count his companions; he counted them, but forgot to include himself, saying that there were twenty when they started and now only nineteen, and he thought for a long time who the lost person could be. When he was looking in the direction of the funeral-place for the lost companion, he saw a lame man named Keikarskutan, who had a *purs* and *ab* (bow and arrow). Keikarskutan lay down and shot the arrow[1] and it came towards Teikuteidi with a sound like a bird's voice. Teikuteidi was looking to see what sort of bird it was when the arrow pierced both his eyes[2] and he died. When his companions found that he was dead, they held the funeral at Keràs, and at the place where he died they made a mark with four stones like a cross, one for his head, one for his legs and one for each hand.

Kwoten was responsible for various features of the organisation of the Pan people. He divided them into two parts, the Panol and Kuirsiol, and also divided the *ti* into two parts, the *wars ti*, which was to belong to the Panol, and the *tars ti* to the Kuirsiol. He settled that the *palol* of the *ti* should be chosen from the people of Keadr. When there is a funeral in any clan a *palol* belonging to that clan must give up his office; hence, in order that his *ti* should never be without a *palol*, Kwoten separated the people of Keadr into two divisions, the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol, so that a member of one division might be *palol* if a member of the other division died.

---

[1] When Keikarskutan shot the bow and arrow he lay down. According to my informants, Keikarskutan lay down to shoot the bow and arrow because he was lame, but shot it in the ordinary way and did not use his legs in doing so. Breeks, who gives a brief version of this legend, was told that the arrow was shot by means of the legs and refers to this method as the ancient Indian custom.

[2] I give this as it was told.

173
773
776

This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaür ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tün*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tün*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village.

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

173
773
776
[787]

Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *karpüls* going from the right side to the left,[1] uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows:—

"*Nòdr udoi* *kwudrpedrshai; Naraian sami kaipedrshai.*"
"Country (God) if there is you will die; Naraian will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *teu*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said; "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pòni, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepurs, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthòri belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pazhmokh, near Kepurs. That night Kwoten slept on the *idrtul* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pug*.[2] Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepurs and called out to the *wursol* of that place, "*Wursolia, tar tûrshodthrska*"[3]—"O *wursol*, is the man up yet?" The *wursol*

---

[1] To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

[2] I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained froth which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *pògh* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pug* itself is not blood.

[3] See p. 616.

173 773 776 replied, "*Pülmâv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän kwark putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk [762] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr zon, Kwoten âr zon, Seizâr zon, Terkosh âr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that [735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

---

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

Elnâkhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs. 173

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters.

773

776

[618]

KWOTO OR MEILITARS

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,[1] and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvainolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

---

[1] Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

173
773
776
was made and the gourd in its mantle was put on the fire. The fire first burnt the cloak, and when it reached the gourd, this broke into two pieces. One piece became a little baby, a boy, which took a piece of the burnt cloak and went away in the air to Neikhârs, where there is a big tree, under which it alighted. The other piece of the gourd was split into many fragments by the heat of the fire, and some of the fragments were driven with such force that they killed a kite which had come to the funeral. (To this day the kite does not eat the buffaloes at funerals at Ushadr, though it does so at other places.) The father and mother followed the child to Neikhârs, where they found it sitting on the tree.[1] The father and mother said to the child "*Ena, itvâ*"—"My son, come here," and the boy came down and went to them, and was taken away by his parents to Melgars.

As the parents and child were on their way to Melgars they met the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* going from Kòn to Enòdr. At that time the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars used to go with the *ti* buffaloes as far as a place called Irgûdrval, on the way between Kars and Enòdr. A Kars man went with the buffaloes, and he wore on his right wrist a gold bracelet (which is still kept at Kuzhu). At Irgûdrval there is a stone called Pidûtkars, and it was the duty of the man with the bracelet to sit on this stone and to make the Melgars buffaloes pass on the right side, the Kars buffaloes on the left side, and the *ti* buffaloes in the middle. When he had done this, the *palol* prayed at the stone, and then the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars turned back and the *ti* buffaloes went on to Enòdr. When the man and his wife saw the buffaloes coming, they waited near Pidûtkars, and while they were waiting the baby laughed. The father asked the boy, "Why do you laugh?" The boy answered, "I know the *kwarzam*[2]

---

[1] My informants could not say whether the boy went away in the air as a child or as a kite. The boy often assumed the form of a kite later, and it is tempting to suppose that the assumption of this form by the child was connected with the death of the kite, *i.e.*, that it was a case of transmigration. The fact that the child went away in the air and was found sitting on a tree makes it highly probable that it flew in the form of a kite, but my informants could not say that this was definitely part of the legend.

[2] The *kwarzam* is the name used in prayer (see Chap. X).

173
773
776

of the *ti* buffaloes, *perner persagun*; I know the *kwarzam* of the Melgars buffaloes, *narsüln natüln nâkh*; also I know the *kwarzam* of the Kars buffaloes, *inâtviḍshti inâtvan*; that is why I laughed." After the buffaloes had gone on to Enòdr, the parents and child went on their way to Melgars. After they had been at Melgars fifteen days, they noticed that the child grew so rapidly that they could see him getting bigger from day to day, and he was soon grown up. He was called Kwoto.

One day Kwoto went into the buffalo pen and played there with the buffalo-dung, so that he was covered with the dust of the dung. His father rebuked him and was blowing on him to get rid of the dust when the boy changed into a kite and flew away. The next day he resumed human form, but from that time he only stayed in the village at times, and at other times stayed in the woods. This went on for about eight days, and then he refused to take food from the village and became a companion of the gods.

At this time the gods used to hold councils on the slopes below a hill called Tikalmudri. The place where they sat was called Pòlkab. When the gods were holding council at Pòlkab, Kwoto went and sat on the top of the hill Tikalmudri. Then the gods said to one another, "How is it that he sits on the top of the hill while we sit below? It is not at all good." They consulted together and decided to kill him. So three or four of the gods went to Kwoto and said in a cunning way, "We will show you your country" (*i.e.*, the place which should belong to him; each of the gods had his appointed place). So they took him to a steep precipice called Teipâper, and having deceived him that they would show him his country, they threw him down. Kwoto, however, was not killed, but took the form of a kite and flew back to Tikalmudri. Then all the gods were surprised that he was not dead, but decided to try and kill him again, and they took him to the hill Kòdrtho, near Nidrsi, and threw him down. (The hill Kòdrtho was inhabited by the god Kòdrtho.) Kwoto was not killed, but pulled up a bamboo tree with its roots, and flew back and struck Kòdrtho on the head, and Kòdrtho's head split into three pieces. One of these pieces is now the well-known

173 hill, the Drug, seen from Coonoor, while the other two pieces
773 are eminences on the ridge running out to the Drug.

Kwoto then returned to Tikalmudri. The gods said, "We
● 776 cannot kill him; he has some power; let us try his power."
So they gave him the following task:

"*Peiwoi*	*tirikvdi,*	*pïdür*	*pïrichvdi?'*
Low	turn	high	fill?

i.e., "Can he turn the low stream and fill the high stream?" (According to another account the words in which the task was given were, "*Alvoi tiriki, Kalvoi pïrsvôka*," *i.e.*, "Can he turn the stream Alvoi and fill the stream Kalvoi?")

Kwoto then took a huge stone, which may still be seen near Kanòdrs, and put it in the stream so that it flowed upwards. Then the stream begged Kwoto, "We are going upwards according to your order, but it is very difficult for us; we wish to be allowed to go our ordinary way." So Kwoto took away the stone and the stream resumed its natural course.

The gods saw what Kwoto had done and decided to try his power in another way, so they said:

"*Känër*	*ät,*	*kutei*	*kurs*	*ütia?"*
Sun	tie,	stone	chain	can he do?

i.e., "Can he tie the sun with a stone chain?" Kwoto then took a stone chain and tied it to the sun and brought the sun down to Nern, near Kanòdrs, and tied it to a tree. When the sun wanted to drink, Kwoto took it to the stream Kalvoi, from which the sun drank, and there is now to be seen a hole in this stream at the place where the sun drank.[1] Then Kwoto took the sun to a pool surrounded by trees called Nerpoiker, also near Kanòdrs. While the sun was tied in this way, it was dark both in this world and in Amnòdr. Then the people of Amnòdr came to the gods and asked why they allowed Kwoto to do these things, and said that they were now living in thick darkness, and they begged that Kwoto should be allowed to put the sun back in its right place. Then the gods went to Kwoto and asked him to put the sun

---

[1] This place is close to the spot at which the path from Pishkwosht (Bikkapattimand) to Kodanad crosses a stream soon after leaving the former village.

173
773
776 ●

back, and they acknowledged that he was a god and the most powerful of the gods. They said that he should no longer be called Kwoto, but that his name should be Meilitars, because he was superior to all the gods; also that he should go "*parnur nòdr, putnur nòdr,*" "to 1,600 places, 1,800 places," *i.e.*, he should not belong to one place only, like the other gods, but should go everywhere.

Then Meilitars put back the sun in its proper place.

(According to another version, the task of tying the sun was given in the words:

"*Kâtêr*	*ât,*	*pirsagun*	*patrôhl?*"
Male buffalo	tie,	sun	can he catch?

The sun was said to have been at this time sitting on the back of a male buffalo, and Kwoto was told to tie the buffalo and catch the sun. According to this account Kwoto first used an iron chain, *kabantagars*, which was melted by the heat of the sun. Next he tried a bronze (?) chain called *kuchtagars*, which also melted. Then he used a stone chain, or *karstagars*, which did not melt, and he succeeded in tying the sun with this. This version of the story corresponds with that given by Breeks.)

Kwoto or Meilitars was closely connected with two clans, those of Melgars and Kanòdrs. It is said to be owing to the fact that Kwoto was a Melgars man that Melgars people have the special privileges and duties which are peculiar to that clan. At any rate, this is the view held by the people of Melgars. At Kanòdrs, the name of Kwoto occupies a prominent place in the prayer of the dairy, and several of the special features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs dairy are said to exist in consequence of the many wonderful things which Kwoto had done in its neighbourhood. When new buttermilk has to be made for Kanòdrs, it is made at a place called Kautarmad, far away, because Kwoto made new buttermilk there, and in the ceremony at this place earth is taken from certain places from which Kwoto took it.

Kwoto or Meilitars is the hero of several stories, in none of which does he play a very creditable *rôle*.

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this 000

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed perman-
773 ently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
775 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wursuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *putkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

173 At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
773 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
776 went one day to their dairy at Tikirs, near Mòdr, and, hiding the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoinörtpet*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

---

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimand reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-
mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of 173
doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the butter- 753
milk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small- 773
pox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would
no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then 776
Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that 886
he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*,
which has the property that anyone who takes it will never
grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto 173
sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the 773
buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all
went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for 776
some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be
seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the
voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to
one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part 173
is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received 177
several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy
myself which was correct. 262

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur 773
in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with
these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. 776
He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

---

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is mòr.

173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a
god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
262 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
773 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first
776 and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *teuol*, or
diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to
the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so
as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyan), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

OTHER GODS

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atioto is the *midrvaichi* of the Kwodrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

773 Konto or Konteu is the *nòdrodchi* of the Panol, and lives on
776 the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or
Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nòdrodchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *teu* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nòdrodchi* of Päm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the
177 Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the
Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are men-
776 tioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasami. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekulâria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

---

[1] P. 142.

114
177
776

a long time, and could not discover the names of gods even remotely resembling them. Finally it became clear that the last was "*kars ud âva*" ("Give me one rupee"). Similarly there was little doubt that "Beligoshu, Dekulâria" stood for "*beli karsu tudkersia*" ("Will you not give me a silver coin?"), the Badaga equivalent of the last word being very much like Dekulâria. The first two names we could not identify with certainty, but the first is possibly "*en mûn gânei*" ("Do not see my face"), and the second is possibly the name of a Badaga buffalo-pen.

Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a 191
teuol, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar
diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He 787
is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak 791
the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the
Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a
god connected with the division to which the majority of the
diviners belong.

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of 177
Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have 787
ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan.
Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or 791
divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances 198
as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down 776
from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame
man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he
came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and
then to the Todas.

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobuv is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a 787
Toda. The following are various instances in which I have 791
records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, 302
and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done [234]
in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for
"nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill
if they find them when grazing.

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done [753]
with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see
p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it
should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of
the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer
from shaking of some kind.

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* 751
ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the
child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it
is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used.

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which 177
they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was 776
able to obtain very little information about them, and I 751
suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent
growth and due to contact with Hinduism.

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt*
(*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326).
Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas
now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round
mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should 755
suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are 278
adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* 824
(a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the
remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described
which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy
is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*)
is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the
evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy
is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the
plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son,
Kurindo.

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

---

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

It will have been noticed that the formulae recorded in this
754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *ma*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an
● [776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

on which the father of a man had died. According to one 234
account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should 688
give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a 673
buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to
others. 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving 782
buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may [723]
have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible.

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant 753
ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a 776
man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is
only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him 787
to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are 796
performed.

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

945 after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

A caul is named *kwadri* (umbrella), but no importance is attached to it, nor is it kept.

SECLUSION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

946 Two or three days after childbirth the mother and child go to the seclusion-hut, or *puzhars*, the same structure being used as after the hand-burning ceremony. Various rites are performed, both when going to and leaving the seclusion-hut, and these have many points in common with those which take place before and after the hand-burning. As in that case, the procedure for the Tartharol differs considerably from that of the Teivaliol.

The general name for the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pûthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which [824] she has been living since the delivery. She holds over her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'[1] which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with [776] the *putkuli*. From the moment she leaves the hut the woman is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

---

[1] Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,[1] and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtpimi*, "to Namav we give."
[783] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

● 776 I saw the ceremony[2] of going to the *puzhars* on two
occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol.
784 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious
846 and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *torikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

Marzvut	*sich*	*mikh*	*mokh*	(or *kugh*)	*udpatia?*
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

---

[1] I am doubtful whether this is essential.

[2] [of the seclusion of a woman following the birth of a Child -- Analyst]

It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a 788
sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the
cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the 801
purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week.

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilinörtiti* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers 776
is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are 801
said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanòdrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen.

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule 801
that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office.

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number 824
eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing
on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. 801
They call this shrub *püvkat*, and it was in flower during the 805
year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be

The Gods

The Toda gods are definitely anthropomorphic beings, who 773
are believed to have lived in this world before man existed. 776
Both man and buffalo were created by the gods, and the Todas seem to picture a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived together on the Nilgiri Hills, and the gods ruled the men. At this time the gods seem to have lived much the same kind of life as the Todas themselves. Ön was *palol* to the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, his son Püv was *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, and other gods are believed to have filled dairy offices. From the earliest times, however, the gods were connected with the hills—*i. e.*, they were believed to dwell on the summits of the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. At first they seem to have mixed at times in human society and at other times to have retired to their hill-tops. The earliest of the gods was Pithi, who was born in a cave, and the Todas and many of their buffaloes were created by his son Ön and his wife. Later death came to the gods in the person of Püv, the son of Ön and Ön followed Püv to the world of the dead, called Amnòdr, of which he has since been the ruler. He left behind him as predominant among the deities Teikirzi, a goddess, who ruled over the Todas. It is to her that the origin of most of the Toda institutions is ascribed, and there is some reason to think that she was predominant among the gods even before Ön went to Amnòdr.

The Todas seem to believe that Teikirzi was at one time a person living among them, giving laws and regulating the affairs of the people. At the present time she is believed to be all-pervading; and, though she has her special hill, she does not dwell there only, as in the case of all but one of the other Toda deities.

There seem to have been many other gods contemporaneous with Ön and Teikirzi, and certain of these are believed to have been related to these deities and especially to Teikirzi. The gods are believed to be very numerous: the Todas speak of the 1,600 gods, the 1,800 gods, but it would seem that these expressions are used in the sense of "an infinite

773 number." The gods are believed to have held their councils,
●776 meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from
his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the
823 village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the
gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

172 There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

●776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769
771
776
There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

---

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to 769
the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grand- 771
fathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this 776●
point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the
Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague
on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to
this one piece of evidence.

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact [775]
that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return
to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while
most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to
have belonged to this world before death came to either gods
or men.

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personi- 771
fications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence what- 776
ever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of
other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental
forces.

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurzülnkars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed 776
that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the 778
Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I
cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not
regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and,
as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it
probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual

---

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

776 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the
778 object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is
793 regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that
he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the
past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time
776 have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special
793 clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion
of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

Nòdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god Ön, but to what- 174
ever extent Ön may have passed on his divine character to 776
his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present
the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have 793
been ascribed to him.

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, 776
according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nòdrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nòdrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nòdrodchi* of Keradr, and Kuzkarv, the *nòdrodchi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol.

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions 776
between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or 782
a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nòdrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed.

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by
offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities
whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual.
In them the names of four most important gods are
mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes
that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are
believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted
in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the
reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of
the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the
gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be
directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god
men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda
mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by
a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may
reveal himself by the same man.

776 234 In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village.

776 787 177 In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas.

776 778 823 At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods.

776 I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are

776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence.
[773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

771 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most
776 satisfactory explanation of the Tòda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom
788 of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

174 absent in the new country. At the same time, it is perhaps
182 not without significance that the Todas are allowed to eat the
771 flesh of the sambhar. In their former home, in the low country,
it is almost certain that this animal would not have been a totem, and therefore it would be natural that on their reaching the Nilgiris they might be permitted to eat it.[1]

771 It is doubtful how far the Todas have an idea of a supreme
776 god. At the present time they speak of and constantly
appeal to Swami, and they will say that Swami is above all the gods, but I have very little doubt that this is a recent idea. Swami was chiefly spoken of and reverenced by the younger men, and it is quite clear that the name should not properly occur in the formulæ of any Toda ritual. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that the idea is old. It is probable that at one time there existed direct appeal to gods in the Toda prayer, and this direct appeal may have been to some supreme being who was addressed as Swami.

Apart from this question of the meaning of Swami, two deities stand out from the remainder of the Toda gods. One of these is Meilitars, whose cunning was able to deceive the gods, and who was able to perform miracles which were regarded as beyond the powers of the other gods. His story seems to show one way in which a god might rise above his fellows, and might become a supreme god, but this has certainly not happened in his case. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Meilitars is in any way worshipped as a supreme god. There is a much stronger case for the supremacy of the goddess Teikirzi. Teikirzi is said to be the foundress of many of the Toda institutions; the final explanation of all things in the Toda mind is that "it is the will of Teikirzi." She is said to be all-pervading, and

---

[1] I do not wish to lay any stress on this argument, for, as I have already indicated, it is possible that the eating of sambhar is a recent innovation, which has arisen since the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiris. Also I do not wish to indicate by the above that I commit myself to a belief in the universality of totemism as a stage in religious development. I only wish to point out that if this has been so, the Todas furnish a good case in which we might expect all traces of this descent to have disappeared or to have become so blurred and scanty as to be of little value.

is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned 771
in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional 776
kwarzam uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far
the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti.

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

INFLUENCE OF OTHER RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of 177
Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a 771
visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more 776
sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam.

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, 776
while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At 782
the present time there is no doubt that their temples are 842
visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas
from 40 to 100 rupees.

---

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages,
all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The
777 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION.

Prayers to Sun and Moon—The Mysterious confused with Godhead—No clear conception of a Supreme Being—The use of a God—Toda Belief—Amnôr—Where situated—Sin, Punishment, little Gods, Spirits, Witchcraft—Toda Religious Belief, whence derived.

CHAP. XII.

IF by the word religion, we mean to imply devotion, piety, duty, as applied to the worship of God, Creator and Ruler; then the Todas are most certainly an irreligious people, judging of them, as we can alone judge, by their actions; whether we compare them by our own standard or through the rites and performances of simple races more in keeping with themselves. 771

They salaam to the rising and setting sun—bîrsh—and the moon—tiggalu [1]—at night, reciting the one formula of prayer which they use on all devout occasions; danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama, the meaning of which has already been translated in note 5 of Chapter VII. To see a man amongst his family, stand out on a moonlight night with hand to forehead, asking most gravely this blessing on his house, from one of the givers of light, is an impressive spectacle, though the address may have been made only to the moon. 768

We see from this formula what they acknowledge to be the fact; that they look on these luminaries as Gods, Lords—Dêr, Swâmi—not that they are, in the least degree, clear on the subject of their power, or the mode or limits of their 771 776

---

[1] See note No. 3 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XII.

action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen
771 to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see,
776 confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

783 They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

771 They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to
782 any personal God, of whose attributes or power they enter-
778 tain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

771 I am not prepared to say that these people have actually
776 no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

---

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

CHAP. XII.

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the
man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't 771
want a God.' 776

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they 771
and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they 775
die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout*. They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled!

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which 772
I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked 775
him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised 821
at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance

---

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâḍu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avaṉ, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

CHAP. XV.

is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to
my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn
234 towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them
788 by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu
793 hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole
to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

778 'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the
768 bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a
little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops
793 on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the
776 names of the following Gods:—

Ânmungâno	Godingâtho
Beligoshu	Dekulâria

Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

---

[1] Nin arzbini—*I adore thee*. See Chapter XVII., on the êtud Mand, for the application of these words.

776 793 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and not Gods of my tiriêri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 793 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk. After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 412 793 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriêri. He said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriêri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 372 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tiriêri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 793 234 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

CHAP. XXII.

sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation
until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high
priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become con- 182
fused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of 771
the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste 105
pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest 564
priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what 771
may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated. 776
They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of 373
a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bêl into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in 000
determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and as

---

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh;** at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.
778 (3.) Called *Tūrzhva;* at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.
(4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva.*
346

Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands.* I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one.

103
621
● 776
778

Peiki Muimands (Etadmands).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

---

* Measurements :—

From top of roof to ground	16′	
Inside diameter, north to south	9′	2″
Do. do. east to west	8′	2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′	
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′	7″
Breadth do. do.	1′	2″
From eaves to ground	3′	5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

103

Kuttan Muimands.

621 776 778

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Músdshyáld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tírzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtāl	Térvalth.	
2. Kārzhtith	Kátĕtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérköārzh	Musdshyáldf.	
6. Kúramârzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarār*	Terpivor Têkva Pēshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúĕrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivén.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bĕtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ēn, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest
kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salām to the rising sun
788 (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the
778 *pūjāri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be
782 well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pūjāris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

---

* Bad. Tārnāt. *Pl.* VIII.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
174 of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which
this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only
to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āzārams.* Numbers of
these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even
always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and
destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the
calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the
present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the
preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but
the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage
ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh,
and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
● 776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say,
the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?
174 a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
411 are still expert archers.

The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel
224 Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas
lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story
seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the
Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas
pútkuli, tharp, kónu, &c., are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to
no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the
story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills,
the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food
except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

---

* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tér* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

775 The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Ámunád* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Púfêrigén** (Hell) (from *púf*, leech; *éri*, place; *gén*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

● [776] *Ámunád* is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Ámunád* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Ámunád* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes*, *X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khâsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

Lange.
The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect
212 says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and
197 if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

---

* Dr. Pope (*Outlines, &c.*) says "púf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-puriu. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 240, story of Prithu and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khâsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure
"the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also
"into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something
"of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do
"not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning
773 of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before
them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have
obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in
common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form
in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for
a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
539 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought
about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he
173 enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting
his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else
about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes,
the Todas, the *pâltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these
lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's
labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover
any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the
first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he
went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was
Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill*,* *and
Nâtanêri hill*,† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up;
that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to
heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all
this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the
Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and
explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas
saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the
Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

---

* Close to Mûttinâd mund, near the top of the Segûr Ghât. † To the right of the Ooroomund road.

As Tekudi came from Tarnât Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air. 539 773

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikāra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tārnāt Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotēn went to a Kurumba village in Bāni Shīma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swāmi ‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotēn returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotēn slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring § and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotēn and Têrkosh, on the Sisapāra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotēn.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ēn's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ēn one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ēn's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

---

* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bāni Shīma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nirvên, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotēn's ring. Nirvēn claims to be a direct descendant of Kotēn. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodâthe, Pūrsh, Kotēn, and Tērkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Malēswaramalē. 776 782

¶ This seems to have been concocted to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

551 [614] patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondɑriːdz. One of these is the daughter of iːmɯxfɯn (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxθɯːɽ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondɯr to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 771 234 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and [192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töθ "god" or noːɽ "sacred place" or by the compound töθnoːɽ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between moď "mund" and 776 778 [779] noːɽ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ön who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töθnoːɽ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

---

[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619-27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word *mod* to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543-60, 1937).

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their ap- 776
proach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds 778
going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at [821]
night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night- [354]
assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects con- 778
nected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordi- 552
nary names. These are the kũasm (the word is best translated as "sacred
name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kũasm, [788]
as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toırθaısoıɬ moiety, [614]
but not among the töũfiɬjoıɬ), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the
funeral-munds, tiı-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never
has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more im-
portant mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nil- [103]
giris have similar pairs of kũasm, while all the other less important locali-
ties, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through
them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc.,
have a name and at least one kũasm by which they are mentioned in
prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some
mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are
dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at
ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at
least one kũasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also
named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kũasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and 778
kũasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are 551
named. In many cases a name is used without change. ũuʂoıṛ of the 614
meɭgaıʂoıɬ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the
sib. paıng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib.
maıkaıs of the kaıʂoıɬ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiı-places
of this sib. toıʂjoɬf of the kaıʂoıɬ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kuṛpoɬj
dairy at the mund kaıs. komdũmı of the toıroıṛoıɬ (23, Kandu) is named
after the pen of the kogfoɬj dairy at the mund toıroıṛ. pepoıb of the meɭ-
gaıʂoıɬ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuıʂaıs, a mund
of the sib. kõıroıṛxũmṭṇ of the kõıroıṛoıɬ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name
the second kũasm of the people of the sib. oıtjars of the purgoıṛoıɬ (34,
Athurs) has the second kũasm of the people of the sib. munoınbiıʂtj, son
of kostsiθj (12, Kacheidl) has one of the kũasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938

AW60 Toda AW60

778 551 614 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæθj in §12 and tæθjxæm, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɯɪpɯsrxûɯtn̥, son of tæɪpɯɪ (20, Teipakh), and tɯɪfnɯs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoɭj dairy at the mund toɪroɪɪ, which is named tɯɪpɯsforθ. In the case of one man pɒnɯs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is komɯs, which is the first kûarm of the mund poʒtoɪɪ of the toɪroɪɪroɪɭ, but that a real kûarm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pɒnɯs is based on the second kûarm of this mund, pɒɪŋgub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kûarm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ðɪkjaɭf (24, Irkiolv) after the kûarm ðɪɪn̥ɯs, ðɪkjaɭf, and oɪxûɯɭn̥ (24, Orguln) after the kûarm oɪɪn̥ɯs, oɪxûɯɭn̥; the kûarm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not 551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer ● 776 existent is clear, for kiɪɪn̥ɯs of the niɪjoɭ (43, Kidrners) derives his name 778 from the unchanged second kûarm of the mund niɪj, and orjxoɪ of the 614 mðɪɪoɭ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kûarm of the mund pɒn. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 551 103 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tôûmoɭ (24, Teimad) < a valley (paɭ) called tôûmoɭpaɭ. mogoj (24, Mogai) < mogojnæɪs "cubit (mogoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyɭtsûɯɪ of his sib.[8] kakaɪ (20, Kakar) < kakaɪɪxûɯt, an open place in the middle of thickets (kûɯt) near the mund toɪroɪɪ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiθjmoɪj (20, Kidimodri) < kiθjmɯɪn, a mountain; mɯɪn is the peak of a hill and moɪj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

---

[114] [8] Rivers (p. [illegible]) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun by phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

8;Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938

AW60 Toda AW60

§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɯs. It is found also in a number of kõarm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. 193 551 mytɯj of the kɯrõɯtoš is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kõarm is poɪrnuɯs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɯs) of the 1600 (pɐɪrnuɯr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be [776] 1600 (pɐɪrnuɯr) and 1800 (puɪtnuɯr) in number. If this is correct, nuɯs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nuɯl- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kõarm komuɯs of the mund nyɪḷn of the meḷgɐɪwoš is to be interpreted as kom-nuɯs "the place of the god kom;" kom or komθõ is the mountain near this mund. The first kõarm of the mund meḷgɐɪs is nɐɪnuɯs, clearly to be connected with the two kõarm of the people of this sib, nɐɪsθoɪr, nɐɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrθɐroš as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kõarm of the buffaloes of this sib, nɐɪsiš, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgɐɪs, nɐɪsõuɪ (i.e. nɐɪs-tõuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element nɐɪs means is quite unknown; but nɐɪnuɯs is "the place of the nɐɪs." Two munds, kluɪṛ of the kɯrõɯtoš and kõɐɪṛθynj of the puɯrgoɪroš, have kõɐtænuɯs as their first kõarm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted [773] as "the standing-place of kõɐtæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the mõɪroš sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kõarm, with this element are poʃjnuɯs "the place of the funeral-hut," a male funeral-place of the kɯrõɯtoš, and [103] mɐɪnuɯs, a female funeral-place of the mõɪroš, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɯs is appropriate in place-names and kõarm of munds. A brother of momgiθj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kõɐɪdnuɯs, whose name is the first kõarm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kɐɪnuɯs (56, Karsners) < the first kõarm of the mund taɪmuɯx of his sib. The name kinuɯs (26, Kiner) is derived from kinuɯʃnuɯs, the first kõarm of the mund kõɪroɪṛ, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɯs. For it is certain that -nuɯs is now felt as a

---

is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, 83½ and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic 92 study. It may be suggested, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 130).

551 193 [553] pəɪrθotj near the mund kərkoɹ. edzen (22, Idjen) < ɪːdzfəɭ, a valley near the mund poʃtəɪr; this man was afterwards called kūurxuɹ, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgūuɪɪr, since there was another man called edzen. naɹyɭj (25, Natuli) < kinxaɹyɭj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund poʃtəɪr; kinxaɹyɭj = "small (kin)-stone (kaɹ)-deep pool (tyɭj)," and naɹyɭj = "beauty (naɹ)-deep pool (tyɭj)." I could not discover that naɹyɭj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæɹθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæɹθj and kæɪn, a brother of tæɹθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæɪnaɭl, cf. kæɪngūuɪṭṇ (§9) and kæɪnodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pɪlkiɹθj, for which see §12.

551 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kūuɹm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these 551 776 177 gods or temples for the birth of a child. So siɹjəɪr in §14. Others are moɪronuɪɹ, a son of tööθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪrɑmn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoroɪdzn, a son of siɹjəɪr (table 20), < noɪxuɪɹ "Nagore" or noɪxuɪɹxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxoɹ or noɪxoroɪl "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ordjoṇ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ṇ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ordʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpox, table 20). This is from idroɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öɪngūuɪṭṇ (20, Enkutan); öɪn, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kūaθθ, who belonged to the sib of the meɪgnɪroɪl, had another name mæɪltarz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

551 177 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntaərz, a son of kæɪnodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (ərz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

551 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæːbj, daughter of
193 θɨknɯːr (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of korxûɯːtn̥ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæːsn; a woman's name tæːs is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kæjniːr, 3, Kainir).

§30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiɾfj (8,
[177] Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amendiɾfj, daughter of kûɯːlpox (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a
614 number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases
778 sib-names, based on names and kõasm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are de-
551 rived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated
776 with any sib (e.g. θɨngûɯːtn̥ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived
177 from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib
193 with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I
[614] have not discovered.[19] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names bor-
[177] rowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

---

[562] [19] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred
[533] from using the kõasm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the
[778] details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

771 the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and
233 preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching
234 the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk
794 from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions
[783] surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the
[778] milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity
794 that it can be sold to outsiders.

776 Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the
114 dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities,
[234] the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷoːḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the tiː. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler......... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθuṇ and the töunoːṛ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said
[533] on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

---

[1] This ceremony, the [illegible], is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point.
[114] The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the
[552] dairyman says the name, e. g. [illegible], and then strikes the buffalo three
[788] times with the wand, saying hõ! at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as [illegible], after- is as [illegible].

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are 776
told are the töuθɯţ and it is about these that Rivers acquired 114
much information. They are "the mountains (tɯţ) which are 794
gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities.
They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers,
since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they
are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the
villages of the sibs (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as
"mund"), e. g. tö:kiśj created most of the Toda institutions at
the mund no:ṛ and this connexion is kept very much in mind.
They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do [777]
sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a [791]
man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods [688]
by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers.
But these töuθɯţ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 794

The töuno:ṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda 776
consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the 234
dairy-complexes localised at munds. Most munds consist of one [361]
or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the
dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live.
The dairy section of the mund is the töuno:ṛ and it is clear from
the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the
dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex
associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names [782]
of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffa-
loes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies,
and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the
complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may
suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, [783]
who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated [562]
from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house
across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in
fact are designated as a:ṛ as opposed to the dairy section
of the mund which is no:ṛ "sacred place." Within the no:ṛ it 776
cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the 234
divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ṛ itself 778
is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred 794
part of the mund as töu "god" or no:ṛ "sacred place" or töuno:ṛ, [192]
a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

794

776 is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and no:ṛ "sacred place"
234 may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude
778 that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the
[192] localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as
follows:[1]

776 778 234 539 794

no:ṛo:zelm	ku:tjuθno:ṛ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
töuo:selm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(no:ṣ), the sacred place to which the goddess tö:kiṣj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

mozeθaṛm	kuɯṛtɯθno:ṛ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
ɯṛeθaṛm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

no:ṛezu:ḍtk	pi:ɯθno:ṛ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
töueno:ḍtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly
794 of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the
776 gods go is held in the dairy of the mund my:nj to settle disputes
778 and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the
234 töuθɯṭ, the töuno:ṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon,
[177] assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From
this the töuno:ṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is
[777] also evident since it is said that a töuno:ṛ may become angry and
visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular
[783] dairy-complex.

---

[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair: pa:rɯɯrθɔ, pa:ṭpɯrθɔ "1600
[533] gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the
[114] Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name
(kuṭsm)" of the mund my:nj, which is pa:rɯms, said to mean "the standing-place (ɯme) of the 1600 gods (represented by pa:r for pa:rɯɯr)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

794
234
776
778
[342]

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are töunoːṛ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not töunoːṛ. Some munds also which have dairies are not töunoːṛ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a töunoːṛ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. [178] Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be [793] ordained for one of the töunoːṛ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the töunoːṛ, which are ɯtuuɯḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a töunoːṛ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the töuθɯṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a töunoːṛ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a [791] buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the töunoːṛ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a töunoːṛ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may [614] be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he re- [614] ferred to the töuθɯṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodchi, i. e. noṭoṛjoi-, means "(the deity, i. e. the töuθɯṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (ɯtuuɯḍmoḍ or töunoːṛ) was created, as we have said, by a töuθɯṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
● 776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiṣy and the
234 rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθɯṭ. Since
they are distinct from the töuno:ṛ, it is clear that the ritual
of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs
about the töuθɯṭ. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of
much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these
latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former,
771 opportunities only arising less frequently. We may probably
174 see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
794 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by
234 which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But
if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need
not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually
find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes.
Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred
either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to
creation in general terms by tö:kiṣy and the other töuθɯṭ for the
general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiṣy and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the
dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than
the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods,
776 the töuθɯṭ, stories are still told in the vague way of which
538 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really
merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling,
arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling
technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper
An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales). There is no reason
to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten
while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
177 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
178 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 487-9
worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with
the proper religion of the Todas."

worship of Hindu deities can go on " side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nöːrnmę (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son aiɼjaːr; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a töːu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

[illegible]
782
782
484
788
178
[182]

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief alreay mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is soːmj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmę (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

776
776
177

771 of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments*
● 776 *and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed
177 in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of
Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It
is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as
is the frequent use of the vocative so·mi· as an expletive of
[797] surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to
have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

177 It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set
up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that
778 the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred
part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of
pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission
of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant,
and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever
arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general,
such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random.
A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities
171 is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and
177 will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known
778 his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of
this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the
villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their
village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from
Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man
who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had
not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old
polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension
of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the
possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction
177 within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and
it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce
778 utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned
791 Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the
present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing
121 women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the
171 Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state
[602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri-
[614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's
[684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however
[793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after
[234] the next new moon.

841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res-
778 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating
234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk
[462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munda,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with

---

[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] [1] See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

[2] A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-
[361] five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at
[778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is
[776] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on 771
pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of
esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of
the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names [776]
and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is 776
that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a [178]
part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now
quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (espe- [115]
cially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something
about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an
intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which [773]
the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same
kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of
buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some
of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living
on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. [114]
Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly
speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very
good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned
by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the
present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Under-
world (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris;
while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife,
Pinakursh, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes;
2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity,
amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear
continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when
Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a [103]
hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however,
omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the
Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

---

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover [174]
what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or
so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which
would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world
of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author,
see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter [128]
refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose
fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of
Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality
who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god;
he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the
legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of
tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink
at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged
him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According
to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil,
although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former
either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even trilingual,
191 conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil
with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemorative
177 inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters.
I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by
Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes
also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being
433 kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle
of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the
cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods.
They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically.
Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred
of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to
[241] induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum,
preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic
form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which
they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount
is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

modols 614

10. Melgarsh 616
11. Pam or Pirspurs 554
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes 564
    also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhiiols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy
6. Kiemen	(Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many 173 generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This 887 is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, 582 as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* 642 has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda 614 tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-* 622 *potvaylar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious 793 ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see 114 *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, On, is believed to have been the first holder of this 173 office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh 776 and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

[Melgarsh Village]

159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 776 [125] In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

159 [868] Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh, wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *Mutti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability
[834] as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, because he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.